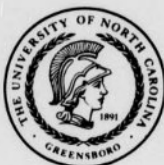


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ABSTRACT

CARROLL, MARY R. The Organizational Bases of Community Power a Subsequent Test of Selected Hypotheses. (1975)
Directed by: Dr. Alvin Scaff. Pp.

The organizational bases of community power were examined in this study of Nemo, a community of 14,000. The research was based on a concept of community power developed by Perrucci and Piliisuk. They theorize that no individual can possess all of the attributes necessary for achieving his goals in the community solely through personal characteristics or position. Additional power bases are important. These are found in organizations. Persons who are associated with more than one organization in executive positions are in a position to act as a connector between the organizations. They are therefore in a position to benefit from the power base of each organization and therefore will exercise greater power in community decision-making.

The present study re-examined the hypotheses tested by Perrucci and Piliisuk and closely followed their methodology. In addition, the general community activity of the leadership population in voluntary organizations was measured as a test of the hypothesis that reputed leaders and interorganizational leaders would be more active in governmental and/or civic organizations, those having a great effect on non-members, than would other leaders. It was assumed that reputed and interorganizational leaders would show a greater commitment to the community through their voluntary community activities than would other leaders.

The results of the interviews conducted and other data collected generally support the theory that organizations serve as a power resource in the community. Multiple organizational executive positions appear to be related to a general reputation for power since every person named as a reputed leader in this study held at least two organizational executive positions. It was also possible to diagram the interconnections of organizational executives as a resource network. The network generated indicates that interorganizational leaders and reputed leaders form a group whose members have much in common. Their common organizational executive positions provide them with bases of community power and opportunities for discussion of various issues confronting Nemo. These positions also provide starting points from which interorganizational and reputed leaders can act on community decisions. The hypothesized evidence of commitment of interorganizational and reputed bodies to the community through voluntary organizational activity was also supported. These leaders were found to be significantly more active in governmental and civic organizations than were other leaders.

The results of this research indicate that organizations do serve as a base of community power. Organizational executive positions are necessary in addition to personal characteristics for a person to be named as a reputed leader. The results of this study also indicate that some evidence of commitment to the community is necessary if an individual is to be recognized as a community leader.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL BASES OF COMMUNITY POWER

A SUBSEQUENT TEST OF

SELECTED HYPOTHESES

by

Mary R. Carroll

A Thesis Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
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Master of Arts

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1975

Approved by

Alvin H. Scaff
Thesis Adviser

APPROVAL PAGE

This thesis has been approved by the following committee of the faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Thanks also go to the other members of the thesis committee, Drs. David Pratto and Raulo Kinnell for their advice in design of the study and development of the final product.

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July 30, 1975

Date of Acceptance by Committee

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The purpose of this paper is to re-examine the findings of Ferrucci and Pitts in "Leaders and Selling Efforts: The Inter-organizational Bases of Community Power" (1970). Their hypotheses will be re-tested by examining the structure of the leadership system in flow. In addition, the types of organizational activities of the members of the leadership system will be examined more fully than in the Ferrucci and Pitts study.

Most studies of community power have begun with Weber's definition of power. According to Weber, person A has the power to cause person B to do as A wishes regardless of the resources on which B's power is based. Community power research has concentrated on determining who the powerful persons are and their relationship to one another, in other words, the structure of community power.

The findings of community power research can generally be stated in one of two major categories. The first of these is the elite model of community power (Bartlett, 1953). The elite model consists of a closed group of individuals who are identified as making decisions in all areas that affect the community. Persons who are included among the elite are powerful because of their special abilities and interests (Lansky, 1963). The second model of community power most commonly found is the pluralistic model (Lansky, 1963). This model is

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to re-examine the findings of Perrucci and Pilisuk in "Leaders and Ruling Elites: The Inter-organizational Bases of Community Power"(1970). Their hypotheses will be retested by examining the structure of the leadership system in Nemo. In addition, the types of organizational affiliations of the members of the leadership system will be examined more fully than in the Perrucci and Pilisuk study.

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The findings of community power research can generally be placed in one of two major categories. The first of these is the elite model of community power(Hunter, 1953). The elite model consists of a closed group of individuals who are identified as making decisions in all areas that affect the community. Persons who are included among the elite are powerful because of their special abilities and talents. (Lanski, 1966). The second model of community power most commonly found is the pluralistic model(Dahl, 1960). This model is

characterized by multiple centers of power, identified either as individuals or groups. Each center has power for different reasons and at any given time the actual distribution of power throughout the community represents different amounts of power being exercised by different power centers.

Studies of community power have generally relied on three methodologies, either alone or in combination, in the research conducted in this field. The first of these is the positional approach in which the basic assumption made is that persons in positions of authority, decision-making positions, have power because of the position they hold in the community. Therefore these persons are studied as the power centers of the community. The second methodology, used by Hunter(1953), is the reputational approach in which it is assumed that persons who are powerful and who are involved in making decisions for the community will be well known to the community. Therefore persons presumed to be knowledgeable in the community(e.g. Chamber of Commerce President) are contacted and asked to name those persons who are most powerful. This process is continued and eventually it is possible to define a group of persons who have a general reputation for power by the number of times they are mentioned. The third methodology, used by Dahl(1960), is the decision making approach which assumes that persons who can be identified as having actually been active on past community issues are the powerful persons in the community.

A continuing debate has been going on between proponents of the elite model and the pluralist model of community power concerning methodology. Those finding an elite structure claim that the decision making approach is faulty because it forces the researcher to be

selective about which issues are the most critical in the community under study, thereby creating the possibility that a less relevant issue will be studied. The findings concerning persons who have power in the community could therefore be biased towards a pluralistic model of power. Proponents of the pluralistic model, on the other hand, insist that the reputational model is biased towards findings of an elite model because of the select way in which persons are interviewed. Comparative studies of the same community using different methodologies have shown that the use of the reputational method tends to result in a determination that an elite model of community power is present while the decision-making methodology tends to result in findings that a pluralistic model is present (Walton, 1970). The findings of many studies of community power may be at least in part, an artifact of the methodology. This raises questions about the nature of power in the community as it has been described through research using the methodologies described. Power in the community may be best described in some way other than the elite or pluralist models. A better description may be a synthesis of these models. Efforts at resolving this issue have involved the use of combinations of methodologies to avoid biasing the results in one direction or the other.

Another important aspect of community power research is a description of the resources which serve as the power base for community leaders. The results of many studies include the names and major affiliations of those discovered to be powerful (Hunter, 1953; Bonjean,

1963). The power these people have is described as being based in their business interests, personal wealth, community longevity, and position in the community. All of these things may be related to community power. However other resources may also be a part of the base of individuals who are powerful in the community. Organizations as bases of community power will be examined in Nemo.

Perrucci and Pillisuk directed their attention to the bases of individual community power and the connections among them (Perrucci and Pillisuk, 1970). In particular, they studied the interorganizational bases of community power by examining organizational leaders. The study is based on Weber's definition of power and hypothesizes that a ruling elite is present in the community studied. However, the prime focus of the study is on the organizational bases of power of those persons identified as leaders. Perrucci and Pillisuk formulated a theoretical statement concerning the source of enduring power in the community.

...the resources relevant to the existence of power are dispersed and reside in the interorganizational connections that may be mobilized in specific situations, particularly dealing with allocation of scarce values. (1970:1043)

Their basic contention is that no single individual can possess all the resources necessary to influence others to do as he wishes. Therefore persons who wish to influence decision making must draw on the resources of others as well as their own. Prior studies have not demonstrated an interconnected set of resources, a network, for such persons to draw on since their focus has been on individuals. Perrucci and Pillisuk defined such a network as being based in organizations, each of which has some of the power necessary to shape

significant community decisions. The combination of power resources of organizations could be instrumental in making community decisions. The resource network can be identified, according to Perrucci and Pilisuk, by the overlapping executive positions held by individuals in two or more organizations, which link the two organizations. The person in this situation, an interorganizational leader (IOL), is the mobilizer of the organizational resources. Perrucci and Pilisuk defined organizational links through persons who held four or more organizational leadership positions in the community as resource ties. The resource network can be generated by plotting the linkages of such persons. Resource networks were operationally defined as follows:

1. three or more IOLs share executive positions on the same organization, and
2. these are also linked to each other by one or more other organizational ties, and
3. in such a fashion that the network is "closed" in the sense that all persons are directly linked to each other by first or second order connections. (Perrucci & Pilisuk, 1970:1053)

First order ties described linkages between two organizations through a shared IOL in an executive position. Second order ties occur when two organizations are linked through IOLs to a common third organization.

Perrucci and Pilisuk considered four propositions in their research:

1. There exists in communities a relatively small and clearly identifiable group of interorganizational leaders, or persons who hold high executive (policy decision-making) positions in "many" organizations.
2. Organizational leaders or persons who hold equally high positions in "few" organizations will be less often identified on an actual community issue than will their

counterpart interorganizational leaders. The two groups will also differ on hypothetical community issues but less so than on real issues.

3. Interorganizational leaders will show greater value homophily and primary or social ties among themselves than will organizational leaders.
4. Those interorganizational leaders who are part of the same resource network will be judged more powerful by their peers and will show the greatest value homophily and most frequent social ties. (Perrucci & Pilisuk, 1970: 1044)

For the purposes of their study interorganizational leaders who held leadership positions in many organizations were defined as persons who held executive positions in four or more organizations. Organizational leaders were persons who held executive positions in three, two or one organization. Value homophily (similarity) in proposition three refers to similar political and social viewpoints. Primary or social ties are either close business and professional association or close social relationships. Resource networks have been previously defined.

Based on the four propositions and the possible results of their research, Perrucci and Pilisuk discussed a possible conclusion concerning power in the community they studied:

If interorganizational leaders are identified and the same interorganizational resource networks are found to consist of men who are both reputational leaders and actual leaders by virtue of actual issue participation, and if they also reveal value homophily and primary ties among themselves, then a ruling elite exists. (1970:1044)

In addition they pointed out that if a resource network can be identified but the other conditions are not met then a pluralistic model would be in effect and if a resource network cannot be identified then community power would be considered as a shifting commodity

In the community studied.

The methodology employed by Perrucci and Pillisuk involved elements of all three of the basic methodologies discussed earlier thus avoiding to some degree the biases associated with using one of the methodologies alone. Names of persons in leadership positions were collected. Actual and hypothetical community issues were considered and names of reputed leaders were solicited.

The present study of Nemo will follow the procedures carried out by Perrucci and Pillisuk with some exceptions. The first of these is in one of the propositions tested in the original study. No attempt will be made to gather information on the value similarity in terms of the world view of the persons interviewed since it was felt that similarity of world view was not necessarily related to points of view and activity on issues affecting the local community. In addition, persons selected to be interviewed will be chosen on the basis of types of organizational affiliation rather than on the basis of occupation.

In addition to the propositions studied by Perrucci and Pillisuk, the present study will include a more careful examination of the types of organizations in which leaders, interorganizational leaders and reputed leaders hold executive positions. An effort will be made to determine if positions in a particular type of organization are more closely related to actual and reputational power in the community than holding executive positions in other types of organizations. Studies of community power, including the Perrucci and Pillisuk study, have shown 50% or more of persons found to be powerful

to have strong business ties. Perrucci and Pilisuk matched their sample of IOLs and OLs who were interviewed on the basis of occupation and business type, e.g. an IOL president of an industry would be matched to an OL president of an industry. It has been assumed that these affiliations are the bases of an individual's power. There is little information concerning affiliations other than business, family and position and their possible relationship to individual community power. Perrucci and Pilisuk have offered and supported through their research the proposition that community power is based in organizations and resource networks which include other types of affiliations. Their results raise the question of whether holding an executive position in a particular type of organization and therefore being identified with the point of view and activity of the organization is more closely related to individuals who are powerful regardless of their occupation and business affiliation than holding an executive position in another type of organization. A related question concerns the general voluntary community activity of IOLs and OLs as measured by membership, active participation, committee membership, chairing committees, holding organizational office, or being the chief executive of an organization. Do IOLs exhibit greater overall community activity and is this activity more apt to be in one type of organization than another? Also, do IOLs who are named as having power in actual community issues and a general reputation for power exhibit greater overall community activity than other IOLs or the leadership population in general? To examine these questions organizational categories based on those developed by Laskin and

Phillet (1965) were employed. Five organizational types were defined for the present study. They are:

- I. Governmental Type - organizations which have a great effect on non-members, such as City Government, the Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants Association, or the NAACP.
- II. Civic, Professional, Fraternal - organizations which have a moderate effect on non-members, such as the United Fund, YMCA, the Hospital Board, fraternal lodges, and professional associations.
- III. Religious - organizations which have little effect on non-members.
- IV. Social or Athletic - organizations which have little effect on non-members.
- V. Businesses

Hypotheses

In this study the following hypotheses will be tested.

- I. Of the population of persons who hold high executive policy decision making, positions (organizational leaders), a small number (less than five percent) will hold "many" such positions in organizations in the community. (interorganizational leaders)
- II. Interorganizational leaders (IOLs) will be identified proportionately more often as being active in actual community issues than will organizational leaders (OLs).
- III. Interorganizational leaders (IOLs) will be named as more potentially active on hypothetical community issues than will organizational leaders (OLs).
- IV. Interorganizational leaders (IOLs) will show closer social ties among themselves than organizational leaders (OLs) will show among themselves.

V. Interorganizational leaders (IOLs) will have greater Community Activity scores in organizations having a great effect on non-members than will organizational leaders (OLs).

VI. Interorganizational leaders (IOLs) and organizational leaders (OLS) who are reputed leaders will have greater Community Activity scores in organizations having a moderate effect on non-members than will IOLs and OLs who are reputed leaders.

VII. Those interorganizational leaders (IOLs) who are part of the same resource network will be judged more powerful by other IOLs and OLs.

CHAPTER 11

RELATED RESEARCH

When studying the bases on which community power rests, several factors should be considered. Definitions and theories of power, sources of individual and group power, and literature in community power research relevant to the present study will be examined in this chapter.

Power Defined

Much of community power research has been based in the theory of power developed by Max Weber.

(Power is) the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistances; regardless of the basis on which this probability rests. (Weber, 1947:152)

He distinguished between two basic types of power.

...the domination of others that rests on the ability to influence their interests, and the domination that rests on authority, that is, the power to command and the duty to obey. (Blau, 1963:147)

Authority exists when people comply with the wishes of a superior because of their shared beliefs that it is legitimate for the superior to direct them and it is illegitimate for them not to obey. Therefore authority involves a certain amount of voluntary submission. Weber distinguished between three types of authority.

The first type of authority defined by Weber is traditional authority in which the present way of doing things is viewed as sacred with the dominant person or group, most often in their position through heredity, thought to have been pre-ordained to direct others. Studies of community power which have found individuals among the leadership group who are members of old community families and/or possess old money (Hunter, 1953; Bonjean, 1963), have identified persons whose power may be described as resting, at least in part, on tradition. The power of such persons is legitimated through tradition.

Charismatic authority, Weber's second type, defines the leader and his powers as supernaturally inspired. Charisma is characterized by inner determination and inner restraint and "it is the duty of those to whom he (the charismatic leader) addresses his mission to recognize him as their charismatically qualified leader" (Gerth and Mills, 1946:247). Some persons identified as having community power may have charisma as their base of power but most often persons who are found to be a part of the power structure of a community are described as having their power based in either tradition, legal authority or economic resources.

The third type of authority is legal authority. It is legitimated by a belief in the supremacy of law. The obedience of the people is owed to an impersonal set of principles, the law. The concept of legal authority includes the requirement that the individual follow the directives of those superior to him regardless of who the superior may be. Examples of legal authority structures

are government and its agencies, and private corporations (Blau, 1963:151). There are many examples of persons who have power in the community based on legal authority throughout the literature on community power structures. (Hunter, 1953; Bonjean, 1963).

Weber's definition of power and his description of the three types of authority seem to focus attention on the individual and interpersonal relations, though in his extensive discussions of power and its manifestations, he focuses much attention on power in political systems or institutions. Weber's definition leads one to look to the individual and his personal characteristics to find the sources of his power.

Other theories of power have dealt with power specifically in terms of groups or organizations. Bierstedt, in "An Analysis of Social Power" (1950) states that power appears in two forms, as institutionalized authority in the formal organization and as un-institutionalized power in the informal organization.

Power supports the fundamental order of society and the special organization within it, wherever there is order. Power stands behind every association and sustains its structure. (Bierstedt, 1950:732)

Bierstedt sees power as located in groups and present in intergroup relations. It is present in the positions individuals hold in formal organizations and is a function of the organization of associations. This view of power characterizes organizations as the sources of power. Individuals have power as long as they are associated with an organization and hold a position within it.

Power in the Community

Weber's legal authority and its structural location in formal organizations, Beirstedt's concept of power as institutionalized authority in the formal organization and uninstitutionalized authority in the informal organization, and Weber's general definition of power in interpersonal terms, all lead to a consideration of whether power is an organizational or personal property or a result of a combination of the two. In an effort to answer this question, Mott asks whether there are "any organizational properties that help to produce social control" (Mott, 1970:5). Hawley has suggested through his work that such special organizational properties do exist.

Hawley states that power is expressed in two ways:

1. as functional power—that required to execute a function; and,
2. as derivative power—that which spills over into external relationships and regulates the interaction between the parts. (Hawley, 1963:424)

This concept of power is related to a view of the community as an energy system, composed of a system of relationships among functionally differentiated units, which have the ability to mobilize power to produce results. Each unit of the system, the family, church, business, industry, is also an organization of power for carrying out a function. The performance of each unit affects other units to some degree through derivative power (Hawley, 1963)

Organizations are sub-units of the community system according to Hawley. White sees organizations as energy-binding systems since the process of organizing involves the binding in of energy.

Every organization, then, creates a collective pool of some or all of the energies of its members, which is then available for collective use. (Mott, 1970:5)

Access to the pooled energy of organizations may be unevenly available to members of the organization, either at the sub-system level or at the community wide level. This can be caused by a lack of transitive connections within an organization. The simplest connections between persons or groups is a direct one, connexity. (Mott, 1970:6) Transitive connections exist when two individuals must use a third party when they wish to interact.

These (transitive) links can act like simple switches permitting the utilization of energy (power) in the system or preventing it, and, thereby controlling it. (Mott, 1970:5)

White's definition describes power resources as existing in organizations and as released in the connections between organizations. The individual must serve as a connector between organizations and therefore controls the release of power based in the organizations.

Other theorists have also considered organizations as bases of community power and the connections between organizations as the points where power is controlled. Bates and Bacon in the article, "The Community as a Social System" propose that the community should be viewed as a social system in which individuals, either alone, or as members of groups and organizations, satisfy their needs. Bates and Bacon state that a mechanism must exist in each interdependent group and organization in the community to join it to other parts of the social system (community) for the exchange of goods and services. This mechanism is an "Interstitial group".

An interstitial group stands between two elemental groups and has the function of effecting a transfer of goods and services (or functions) from one group to another. Interstitial groups always contain representatives of two or more elemental groups. (Bates and Bacon, 1972:374)

The concept of "Interstitial groups" seems to be related to White's concept of "transitive connections". Each theoretical construct relates to connections between organizations, which must be effected by individuals, who therefore control the exchange of power, goods, and services.

A further examination of the concept of interstitial groups was undertaken by Nix in the article, "Concepts of Community and Community Leadership". Nix states,

The view is taken here that the social facts of which communities are made are the relationships between the various special-interest groups and organizations within a locality. (Nix, 1969:501)

He goes on to hypothesize that individuals gain or lose potential community power by the nature of their exchange relationships, in which specialized goods and services change hands. Community power is exercised, according to Nix, through coordinative relationships.

That is, a person may gain great potential power in his exchange relationships but unless he becomes actively engaged in the key coordinative group or organization in his community, he is not likely to be in a position to exercise effective influence on community affairs. (Nix, 1969:502)

He further suggests that an understanding of the community requires that attention be focused on interstitial groups and organizations that are composed of representatives of various special-interest groups and organizations. Bates and Bacon and the subsequent work of Nix parallel the concepts of White concerning the organizational bases of power and the organizational connections through which

power is released.

Perrucci and Piliusuk in their study, "Leaders and Ruling Elites: The Interorganizational Bases of Community Power", develop a theoretical statement about the location of enduring power in the community.

...the resources relevant to the existence of power are dispersed and reside in the interorganizational connections that may be mobilized in specific situations, particularly dealing with allocation of scarce values. (1970:1042)

The concept of interorganizational connections seems to be closely related to the transitive links discussed by Mott, and the interstitial group discussed by Bates and Bacon. Perrucci and Piliusuk's concept of interorganizational connections as the locus of community power is based on the assumption that power is concerned with "the distribution of scarce values in situations that affect large, heterogeneous segments of the community" (1970:1042). If this is the nature of power, then they contend that no single individual, regardless of his personal qualities or position can possess sufficient resources to initiate or shape the final result on any single issue or selection of issues. Other resources are necessary. These resources are found in organizations, the community sub-units. Individuals who are associated with more than one organization have access to the power resources of each organization with which they are connected.

Perrucci and Piliusuk developed an operational definition of interorganizational connections and defined them as individuals who hold executive positions in "many" organizations. They hypothesized that these persons would be identified as the leadership of the

community through reputation and actual participation in community decision-making situations and that these persons, through their multiple organizational executive positions would compose a resource network which would enable them to cause decisions to be made according to their wishes. These hypotheses were supported in the research. The findings seem to lend support to the theories of power which state that power is based in organizations and released through the transitive links, interstitial groups, or interorganizational connections between organizations, in an effort to determine whether these persons compose the Leadership of Nemo. Attention will also be given to the types of organizations in which these persons hold executive positions. Perrucci and Piliusuk's definition of such individuals as executives in "many" organizations will be utilized. The hypotheses tested by Perrucci and Piliusuk will be reexamined.

Individual Community Leadership and Organizational Membership

Perrucci and Piliusuk developed a resource network which described the organizational connections of those persons identified as having a general reputation for power. The resource network and the finding that the individuals who functioned as connectors had a general reputation for power seems to support the propositions that transitive links or interstitial groups are the locus of power, its utilization and control.

White's concept of every organization as an energy-binding system when considered in relation to Perrucci and Piliusuk's resource network of organizations and their interconnections leads to the question

of whether a difference exists in the amount of power present in the different organizational resource bases of top influentials.

Laskin and Phillet in "An Integrative Analysis of Voluntary Associational Leadership and Reputational Influence", state that the increasing impact of voluntary associations in the community makes it relevant to consider leaders of such organizations in studies of community power structure. They point out that inclusion is especially relevant "in the event of organizational 'interlocks' attendant upon multiple officerships by the same person." (Laskin and Phillet, 1965:176)

In the study completed by Laskin and Phillet, voluntary organizations were separated into three types according to the effect the organization had on non-members. Voluntary organizations were defined as "any private adult group, voluntarily and more or less formally organized, which is joined and maintained by members pursuing a common interest, usually by means of part time, unpaid activities." (1965:178)

1. Organizations with important effects on non-members;
e.g. town council, board of trade, school board, church based.
2. Organizations with moderate effects on non-members;
e.g. community service, professional and labor associations, fraternal lodges.
3. Organizations with little effect on non-members;
e.g. athletic, social, and recreational

(Laskin and Phillet, 1965:177)

Leadership points were given to each person who held one or more offices in local formal voluntary associations according to the type of organization and the type of office held. The scoring system was not intended as a scaling instrument. The findings of

the study were inconclusive in that persons identified as leaders in voluntary organizations did not consistently appear on lists of persons with reputed power.

The Laskin and Phillet study proposes a useful technique for discriminating between voluntary organizations and assigning points to persons who hold leadership positions in these organizations. This approach when combined with the research of Perrucci and Pilisuk, especially in the generation of a resource network, may give an indication of the type of organizational leadership positions that are most relevant to community power.

Smith, in the study, "The Structuring of Power in a Suburban Community", hypothesized that,

...The determinative influentials of the community would be persons who not only possess a potential for power, but whose activities, relationships, and value orientations reflect a commitment to the community." (Smith, 1960:83)

The basic assumption of the study was that power in the community was related to economic dominance by an individual powerful person who must show some commitment to the community in addition to economic dominance in order to be considered as a powerful person in community decisions. The findings of the study indicated that all top influentials in the community were actively involved in interactional associations within the community such as service clubs, country clubs, and fraternal organizations, rather than in instrumental associations. Interactional associations are defined as those that allow members to get together socially, while instrumental associations are goal oriented and more formally structured. In addition, the formal associational memberships of top influentials were mainly

with organizations perceived as being the most important in community affairs.

The Smith study seems to indicate that top influentials must show an active interest and commitment to the community in order to be regarded as a community influential in addition to having a power base in either tradition or legal authority or the economic sphere. Smith's findings on the necessity of some evidence of commitment to the community in the part of leaders will be considered in the present study. The types of voluntary organizational affiliations of leaders will be analyzed to determine whether a difference in type of organizational affiliation exists between leaders and non-leaders.

The differentiation between instrumental and interaction centered organizations made by Smith roughly approximates the first two organizational types described by Laskin and Phillet, those having important effects or moderate effects on non-members. In the present study a modification of this division between organizations will be used. Four voluntary organizational types will be employed rather than three. They are:

1. Governmental Type: Organizations having a great effect on members. e.g. City Council, Chamber of Commerce, Merchants Association, NAACP, School Board.
2. Civic, Professional, Fraternal: Organizations having a moderate effect on non-members. e.g. Hospital Board, United Fund, YMCA, fraternal lodges.
3. Religious: Organizations having a great effect on non-members.
4. Social or Athletic: Organizations having little effect on non-members. e.g. Country Club, Garden Clubs.

Religious organizations were included as a separate category here because the effect they have on non-members, strong as it may be, is hypothesized as being different in result from the effects of other organizations in the first category.

Organizational Prestige

Smith found that top influentials were actively associated with organizations that were regarded as most influential in the community. Nix, in his discussion of interstitial groups, states that coordinative interstitial groups exercise the greatest power in community affairs. An example of a coordinative interstitial group offered by Nix is the Chamber of Commerce. Young and Larson in the article "The Contribution of Voluntary Organizations to Community Structure", ask whether there is a prestige hierarchy among organizations and if it is independent of the prestige of the individuals who are members. (1965:178)

Young and Larson found that the officers of organizations did differentiate among organizations in terms of their "importance". (1965:184) They found several characteristics common to high prestige organizations as identified by executives in community organizations.

High prestige organizations:

- ...embody the main institutional or value constellations of the community.
- ...are the largest and oldest and appear to serve as links between the community and wider society.
- ...are specialized in the sense that the work of their relatively elaborate and carefully administered structure converges on a delimited sphere of activity.
- ...not only appear to introduce change but also, through continuity of leadership, ritual performance, and general institutional "weight", as indexed by their persistence

as organizations, exercise a stabilizing function in the community. (Young and Larson, 1965:184)

These findings seem to indicate that older organizations eventually develop an identity separate from their membership which is based on their activity in areas important to the community. The findings are interesting to contrast to Smith's finding that interaction centered organizations are closely identified with community influentials rather than instrumental centered organizations, which are defined as goal oriented and which appear to be similar to high prestige organizations as described by Young and Larson. Instrumental centered organizations also appear to fit the definition of coordinative interstitial groups as defined by Nix.

The present study will attempt to determine if high prestige organizations are present in Nemo by asking respondents to name the five most influential organizations in the community and by considering the influence rating given to a selected group of community organizations by respondents. Any resource network developed in this study will be considered in terms of the prestige assigned to the organizations included.

Summary:

Weber's theory of power states that individual power is based on economics or three types of authority; legal, traditional, or charismatic. Blerstedt sees power as being located in groups. Other theorists, including White and Nix, state that power is gained and lost in the connections between organizations, in the transitive links or interstitial groups.

The present study will re-examine the hypotheses tested by Perrucci and Pilisuk in their study of interorganizational bases of community power. The study is based on a theoretical statement which follows Weber's theory concerning the bases of individual power, but asserts that no individual can gain enough power through these bases alone in order to get his way on community issues. The individual must also have power resources that are based in organizational affiliations, particularly in connections between organizations, interorganizational power bases.

In addition to an examination of the hypotheses of Perrucci and Pilisuk, the overall community activity of reputed leaders and interorganizational leaders in voluntary organizations will be examined as an index of their commitment to the community. Individuals and organizations included in the resource network will also be considered in terms of the organizational type, according to the four types defined, and the overall prestige of the organizations included. The purpose of these additional examinations of interorganizational leaders, reputed leaders, and the organizations themselves, is to attempt to determine the level and type of organizational activity most closely related to a general reputation for power and also to determine if reputed leaders or interorganizational leaders are members of high prestige organizations more often than other organizations.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The research methodology used in this study of Nemo is closely related to that employed by Perrucci and Pilisuk in their study of interorganizational bases of power in the community. Data was collected during the late Spring of 1975.

For the purposes of this study an organization was defined as any governmental, civic, professional, fraternal, religious, social or business group that had ten or more members or employees. A total of 188 organizations that met this criterion were identified by using a number of sources including Dun and Bradstreet, Standard and Poors, the City Directory, The Chamber of Commerce Directory of Civic and Professional Organizations, the City Manager's Office, the Superintendent of Schools, and each Church in the community. Additional organizations were discovered during the course of contacting officers listed in the Civic Directory. They were contacted and included in the survey if the organization met the membership criterion.

Five attempts were made to contact each of these organizations. Information on 177 organizations was obtained. Eleven others could not be reached, including three civic or fraternal organizations and eight religious organizations.

The names of the officers, members of the Board of Directors, or Board of Trustees were obtained for each organization contacted. A total of 871 executive positions were identified. The names were compiled into an alphabetical listing which included the executive position and the organizational affiliation of each person. The list was examined to determine which persons held executive positions in more than one organization in Nemo. An analysis of the list showed that 621 persons held one executive position, 76 persons held two executive positions, 15 persons held three executive positions and 10 persons held four or more executive positions, a total of 722 persons.

Perrucci and Pillisuk defined interorganizational leaders(IOLs) as persons who held executive positions in four or more organizations, or two percent of the population identified as organizational executives. All others were defined as organizational leaders(OLs). In the present study, in an effort to parallel the original study, IOLs were defined as persons who held three or more organizational executive positions, or three percent of the executive population. Organizational leaders(OLs) were defined as persons who held executive positions in one or two organizations.

Perrucci and Pillisuk interviewed a sample of the entire IOL Population and a sample of OLs, matched on the basis of occupation. The focus of the present study on the type of organization with which IOLs, reputed leaders, and persons in resource networks are affiliated led to a change in the sampling procedure of persons to be interviewed. The entire population of IOLs and OLs was sorted

according to the five organizational categories; governmental type; civic, professional or fraternal, religious; social or athletic, with an additional category, business.

One person was chosen from each block of the matrix in Table I to be interviewed. An effort was made to select an individual from each block who was expected to be named as an influential person in community decision-making, based on the researcher's and community resident's knowledge of the community. It was necessary to make one substitution for one OL respondent. An effort was made to choose an alternate who most closely approximated the original respondent chosen.

In the analysis of the data collected, responses of persons holding three or more executive positions were used to represent the IOL population and responses of persons holding one or two executive positions represented the OL population.

Respondents were selected on the basis of presumed community influence in order to more stringently test the hypothesis that IOLs would be found to have greater overall community influence than OLs. The reasoning applied here was that if persons thought to be influential were interviewed and they indicated that IOLs were influential more often than OLs and also responded to other portions of the interview schedule that dealt with information regarding the twenty persons being interviewed in such a way that differences were found between IOLs and OLs, then greater support for the hypotheses tested would be present.

TABLE 1 Executive Positions of Leaders by Organizational Type

Organization Type	Executive Positions				Total
	4	3	2	1	
Governmental Type	4	11	23	30	68
Civic Professional Fraternal	17	11	55	203	286
Religious	4	8	21	188	221
Social	8	3	17	62	90
Business	10	12	36	148	206
Total Positions	43	45	152	621	871

The selected IOLs and OLs were integrated into an alphabetized list. Each person on the list was contacted and an appointment for an interview was arranged. During the interview the following topics were covered. Each respondent was asked for some basic demographic information, including address, age, highest level of education completed, occupation and business affiliation, place of birth, date of birth and length of residence in Nemo. The remainder of the interview schedule was designed to obtain information about organizational affiliation and activity level for each respondent, participation in recent community decision, perception of which persons were most influential in bringing two recent community issues to a decision, perceptions of who would be involved in a hypothetical community issue. In addition information on the level of interaction of the respondents was collected. Each respondent was asked to name the ten most influential people in Nemo and was also asked to name in rank order the five most influential people on the alphabetized list of IOLs and OLs. Information on organizational influence in the community was also collected. Each respondent was asked to name the five most influential organizations in town and was also asked to rate a list of the organizations which had the largest numbers of IOLs and OLs as officers or board members on a seven point scale of influence in the community.

Information about individual organizational membership and activity within those organizations was obtained and scored through a modification of the methodology used by Laskin and Phillet and Dakin(1962:237). Each respondent was asked to name all of the

organizations to which he belonged in Nemo. He was then asked the following questions about each organization:

1. Do you attend at least one half of the meetings annually?
(Active membership was arbitrarily set at more than 50% attendance)
2. How many committees do you belong to?
3. How many committees do you chair?
4. Which organization offices do you hold?
5. Are you the chairman of the organization?

These questions were based on the categories of organizational activity developed by Dakin(1962:177). A scoring system based on Laskin and Phillet was used. Organizations were divided into four categories based on their effect on non-members. Membership in those organizations having the greatest effect on non-members received the highest score. Organizations were divided by Laskin and Phillet in the following way:

Organizations with important effects on non-members (town council, board of trade, school board, church board) membership - 3 points

Organizations with moderate effects on non-members (community service, professional and labor associations, fraternal lodges) membership - 2 points

Organizations with little or no effect on non-members (athletic, social, and recreational) membership - 1 point(Laskin and Phillet, 1965:177)

The organizational activity of each respondent was scored according to the organizational categories described above, with each increase in the level of participation receiving a score one point higher than the last with chairmanship of the organization receiving a maximum of nine points for an organization that has important effects on non-members and six points for an organization that has little effect on non-members. For example, if John Doe is a member of the Kiwanis club, is active, serves on two committees, chairs

one of these, and is a member of the Board of Directors of the club, he would be scored on the basis of belonging to an organization that has moderate effects on non-members. He would receive 3 points for members, 4 points for activity, 5 points for each of the two committees he serves on, a total of 10, 6 points for chairing a committee and 7 points for serving on the Board, a total Community Activity Score of 30. On the other hand, Jane Doe who is a member of the Chamber of Commerce and has the same amount of organizational activity would receive scores of 4 points for membership, 5 points for activity, 6 points for each committee, 7 points for each committee chair, and 8 points for sitting on the Board, a total Community Activity Score of 36.

Two recent community issues were presented to each respondent, one less than six months old and the other four years old. The second issue was chosen because there were strong indications that it was still fresh in people's minds because of recent developments and because it was the only instance of a Bond Referendum in the last twelve years. Each respondent was asked to discuss his own participation in these issues and to name those persons he felt were most influential in bringing about the decision that was finally made.

The first issue presented for consideration involved the passage of a dog leash law by the City Council during the past Spring. Prior to the inclusion of the proposed dog leash law on the City Council agenda there had been a series of incidents in Nemo involving dogs that had been allowed to run freely throughout the community. Small children had been bitten and some elderly persons

were afraid to leave their homes. The Council became concerned and decided to discuss passage of a leash law at their next meeting. The publication of the proposed agenda produced a storm of controversy involving proponents and opponents of the proposed law. Eventually, after months delay and much argument, the law was passed.

The Referendum on the issuance of water bonds, described earlier, was the second issue presented for consideration. This issue met Perrucci and Piliuk's requirement that an issue investigated should center on the allocation of scarce resources. Passage of the referendum involved an increase in the water bill of every community resident. The bond issue was approved by a vote of eighteen to one.

Each respondent was asked to indicate the nature of his personal involvement in each of the issues according to the following six item instrument which was developed to structure responses in such a way that they might be more readily analyzed.

Please state the nature of your involvement in this issue:

1. Disinterested
2. Interested Observer
3. Spoke to people about it casually
4. Spoke to individuals who I felt would be involved in making a final decision.
5. Became involved with a group that was organized out of concern over the issue.
6. Spoke out and worked publicly for or against the issue.

The respondent was then asked to freely name those persons he felt were most instrumental in bringing each issue to the attention of the community at large and those persons who had the greatest influence over the decision that was finally made.

In addition to the two actual issues, each respondent was asked to answer the same questions about a hypothetical issue. The issue

centered on the building of a new city hall which would require a bond referendum in order to generate the necessary funds.

The next section of the Interview Schedule was designed to get the respondent's perception of who were the ten most influential people in Nemo. After answering this question, each respondent was handed the alphabetized listing of IOLs and OLs and was asked to name in rank order the five most influential persons on the list. They were then asked to indicate how well they knew each person on the alphabetized list on a scale of social acquaintance developed by Dakin(1962:236). A scale was used rather than open-ended responses as employed by Perrucci and Pilisuk in an effort to more precisely measure the social acquaintance of leaders.

Question number four on the scale was modified slightly in order to more precisely define common areas of involvement. The scale consists of the following statements:

- | | SCORING |
|---|---------|
| a. Don't know him at all. | 1 |
| b. I know his name. | 2 |
| c. We usually nod and greet each other by name. | 3 |
| d. We usually stop to chat with each other at least | 4 |
| a few minutes whenever we meet at: | |
| 1. parties 4. at the club | |
| 2. on business 5. at church affairs | |
| 3. at civic organization meetings | |
| e. We get together now and then for dinner and | 5 |
| visiting in each other's homes. | |
| f. We often talk over personal problems with each | 6 |
| other and help each other whenever needed. | |

(Dakin, 1962:236)

Each increment in score indicates a more personal level of social interaction and knowledge of the other person.

To this point the questions in the Interview Schedule moved from opinions on persons who were or would be involved in decision making,

to opinions on who were the ten most influential persons in town, to who on the alphabetized list were most influential, to an effort to determine how well each respondent knew each person on the list. The questions were asked in this order to avoid a "halo effect contributing to repetition of the same persons names" (Perrucci and Piliusuk, 1970:1050).

The final section of the interview schedule dealt with organizational prestige in the community. Each respondent was first asked to name the five most influential organizations in Nemo. Then he was given a list of the community organizations, which had interviewed IOLs and OLs among their executives, and was asked to rate each organization on a seven point scale of "influence in initiating, supporting, or shaping actions which have the most effect in the community" (Dakin, 1962:235). The following statement was read to each respondent: "(organization) is influential in making decisions which have the most effect in the community". They were asked to indicate their agreement with this statement on a seven point scale ranging from Highly Agree to Highly Disagree, HD D SD NN SA A HA. The responses were given scores ranging from a low of one for HD to a high of seven for HA. The score for each organization was computed and they were ranked in order of influence from high to low, based on these scores.

The Interview Schedule employed in this study appears in Appendix A.

The results of the interviews were analyzed by comparing the scores on the various sections for IOLs and OLs. A list of persons

mentioned as having been involved in decision making on each of the past community decisions was developed. Individuals on the lists were rank ordered according to the number of times they were mentioned from high to low. The scoring procedure described for the actual issues was repeated for the hypothetical issue. The three lists were compared to see if there were great differences based on the type of issue and then a composite list was developed according to the number of mentions made of each person's name.

The ranking procedure described above was applied to the responses to the requests for the names of the ten most powerful persons in Nemo and the rank ordering of the five most powerful persons on the matched list of IOLs and OLs. The composite issue generated list of influentials and the opinion generated list were compared. The number of IOLs and OLs on each and their position was noted. The nominations made by IOLs were analyzed and compared to those made by OLs to see if there was a tendency for certain individuals to be named more often by one group or the other and to determine if the hypothesized influence in community decisions of the IOLs was confirmed.

Individuals who were named or ranked on any of the lists of leaders generated by responses to the questionnaire were then examined in terms of the Community Activity Score, developed by scoring responses on overall membership and activity in voluntary community organizations. To determine if persons nominated as leaders were more apt to exhibit a certain level of activity than another and/or were more apt to belong to one category of organization than another.

IOLs and OLs on the reputed leadership lists were compared on this basis in order to determine what level and type of organizational activity was common to each group and if this was in any way correlated with being named as a decision maker or as an influential.

IOLs and OLs were also compared according to their scores on the social interaction scale. These results were analyzed to determine if IOLs and OLs were more apt to interact with their own group, the opposite group, or if there was no difference. Special attention was paid to the scores of persons who were named as community influentials on all of the lists generated.

Finally an attempt was made to determine if a network of Inter-organizational Resource Leaders(IORLs) was in effect in Nemo, according to the specifications described by Perrucci and Pilisuk.

- In operational terms, a resource network exists when:
1. three or more IOLs share executive positions on the same organization.
 2. These are also linked to each other by one or more other organizational ties, and
 3. in such a fashion that the network is "closed" in the sense that all persons are directly linked to each other by first or second order connections(Perrucci and Pilisuk, 1970:1053).

Any individuals found to be members of such a network were separately analyzed according to the procedures described previously.

The results of this methodology are presented in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This chapter will consist of a presentation, analysis and discussion of the data collected in Nemo on interorganizational leaders, organizational leaders and the organizational bases of power. The data will be organized and reported according to each of the hypotheses examined in this study.

Hypothesis I

Of the population of persons who hold high executive positions in organizations(organizational leaders), a small number, less than five percent, will hold "many" such positions.

A total of 722 persons were identified as holding executive positions in various organizations in Nemo. These persons held a total of 871 executive positions. The majority, 621, held one executive position. Two executive positions were held by 76 persons. These two groups represent 97% of the executives identified. The remaining 3% of the executive population consisted of 15 persons who held three executive positions and 10 persons who held four or more executive positions. This group of 25 persons was labeled interorganizational leaders(IOLs). The remaining 697 persons were labeled organizational leaders(OLs).

Perrucci and Pillisuk defined "many" executive positions as four or more and found 26 persons or 2% of the executive population in

the community they studied (population - 50,000) to be included in the IOL population under this definition. Using four or more executive positions as a cut-off point for IOLs in the present study of Nemo (population - 14,000) would have limited the number of IOLs to ten or 1.3% of the executive population. Therefore in an effort to maintain parity with the Perrucci and Pillsuk study it was decided to define "many" executive positions as three or more which would place 25 persons or 3% of the executive population in the IOL category.

Organizations were initially differentiated into five types, 1. governmental, 2. civic and professional and fraternal, 3. religious, 4. social, and 5. business. An examination of organizational executives according to the number of different types of organizations in which they held executive positions showed that 76% of IOLs, persons holding three or more executive positions, held these positions in three different types of organizations, while 24% of IOLs held executive positions in two types of organizations. In the case of OLs, persons holding one or two executive positions, only 8% held these positions in two types of organizations while 92% held executive positions in one type of organization. The majority of those associated with one type of organization held only one executive position. Table II provides complete information.

Further examination of the distribution of the executive positions of IOLs and OLs in the five organizational types showed a significant difference between IOLs and OLs ($\chi^2 = 24.6$, $df = 4$, $p < .01$). An examination of Table III indicates that the greatest

TABLE II IOIs and OLs According to the Number of Different Organizational Types in Which They Hold Executive Positions. (N in parentheses)

Number of Organizational Types	IOI		OL	
1			92%	(641)
2	24%	(6)	8%	(56)
3	76%	(19)		
4				
Total	100%	(25)	100%	(697)

TABLE III Percentage Distribution of Executive Positions of IOIs and OLs by Type of Organization. (N in parentheses)*

Organization Type	Percent of IOI Positions		Percent of OL Positions		Total	
Governmental	17%	(45)	7%	(53)	11%	(98)
Civic, Professional, Fraternal	32%	(28)	32%	(258)	31%	(286)
Religious	14%	(12)	25%	(209)	25%	(221)
Social	12%	(11)	10%	(79)	10%	(90)
Business	25%	(22)	26%	(184)	23%	(206)
Total	100%	(88)	100%	(783)	100%	(871)

* Significant Difference $\chi^2 = 24.6$, $df = 4$, $p < .01$

differences are in the governmental organizational type with IOLs having a greater percentage of executive positions than OLs and in religious organizations, where OLs have a greater percentage of executive positions than IOLs.

These findings seem to indicate that not only can a small group of IOLs be identified on the basis of the number of executive positions they hold but they also can be differentiated from OLs on the basis of the number of different organizational types in which they hold executive positions and, more specifically, on the basis of the type of organization in which they hold an executive position. These results will be discussed more fully below.

The sampling procedures described in Chapter III were followed and a sample of twenty persons, ten IOLs and ten OLs, was selected. These persons were interviewed. The results of these interviews are reported here.

Hypothesis 2

Interorganizational leaders(IOLs) will be identified proportionately more often as being active in actual community issues than will Organizational leaders(OLs).

Hypothesis 3

Interorganizational leaders(IOLs) will be named as potentially active on hypothetical community issues at about the same rate as organizational leaders.

Tables IV, V, and VI detail the responses provided by IOLs and OLs when they were asked to provide the names of persons who were influential on the two actual community issues and the names of persons who would be influential in a hypothetical community

TABLE IV IOL and OL Choices of IOLs, OLs, and Other Persons as Influential in Resolving the Issue of Passage of a Dog Leash Law.*

Leader Type	Total Choices	IOL		Total Choices	OL	
		Total Persons	C/P**		Total Persons	C/P
IOL	3	1	3.0	4	1	4.0
OL	1	1	1.0	3	2	1.5
Other Persons	1	1	1.0	1	1	1.0

* Significant Difference $p < .001$

** C/P Ratio of Choices to Persons

TABLE V IOL and OL Choices of IOLs, OLs, and Other Persons as Influential in Selling the Water Bond Issue to the Voters.*

Leader Type	Total Choices	IOL		Total Choices	OL	
		Total Persons	C/P		Total Persons	C/P
IOL	1	1	1.0	6	3	2.0
OL	2	2	1.0	7	6	1.1
Other Persons	9	4	2.3	11	9	1.2

* Significant Difference $p < .001$

TABLE VI IOL and OL Choices of IOLs, OLs, and Other Persons as Potentially Influential on the Hypothetical City Hall Issue.*

Leader Type	IOL			OL		
	Total Choices	Total Persons	C/P	Total Choices	Total Persons	C/P
IOL	5	3	1.5	6	4	1.5
OL	11	9	1.2	8	6	1.3
Other Persons	5	5	1.0	3	3	1.0

* Significant Difference $p < .001$

TABLE VII IOL and OL Choices of IOLs, OLs and Other Persons as Having a General Reputation for Power.*

Leader Type	IOL			OL		
	Total Choices	Total Persons	C/P	Total Choices	Total Persons	C/P
IOL	37	9	4.1	29	11	2.6
OL	42	19	2.2	44	27	1.6
Other Persons	10	6	1.6	8	5	1.6

* Significant Difference $p < .001$

issue. Table VII shows responses regarding individuals who have a general reputation for power in Nemo. Responses are categorized according to the leadership classification of the individual mentioned, IOL, OL or other.

For each item, data are provided on the total number of names chosen by respondents, the total number of different persons named by the respondents, and the ratio of choices to persons. The ratio is included to give some idea of the dispersion or concentration of choices for the same persons.

An examination of Table IV shows that IOLs are more likely to be chosen in terms of absolute number of choices, receiving seven choices while OLs receive four. For Tables V and VI there is little difference in the absolute number of choices of IOLs and OLs. These results differ to some degree from the results of the study reported by Perrucci and Pillisuk in which IOLs received a larger absolute number of nominations on the actual issues and about the same number of choices on the hypothetical issues.

Each respondent was also asked to name ten persons who they felt were influential in shaping policy in Nemo. The following persons received the greatest number of choices.

Leadership	Name	Choices	Position
IOL	Brown	15	Bank President
IOL	Smith	14	Bank President
OL	Kenney	10	Member-Bank Board
IOL	Ford	8	Elected City Official
OL	Collins	8	President-Business
IOL	Wolff	7	Elected City Official
OL	Norman	7	Bank President
IOL	Pratt	7	President-Industry
IOL	Evans	7	President-Business
OL	Cobb	6	Member-Bank Board

Table VII shows the distribution of choices of IOLs, OLs, and other persons. IOLs received fewer absolute choices than OLs in contrast to the findings of Perrucci and Pillisuk which indicated that IOLs were overwhelmingly chosen as reputational leaders.

Perrucci and Pillisuk performed a chi-square test on the total mentions of IOLs and OLs for each issue and general reputation for power. The test assumed a probability of .50 for the mentioning of an IOL or OL in each case. Differences in the distribution of the mentions of IOLs and OLs were found to be statistically significant beyond the .001 level for the actual issue and for the general reputation for power, and beyond the .005 level for the first hypothetical issue and not statistically significant for the second hypothetical issue (Perrucci and Pillisuk, 1970:1049).

There is some question as to the appropriateness of assuming a probability of .50 for an IOL or OL being mentioned in any of the four categories included in the Perrucci and Pillisuk study or in the present study. Perrucci and Pillisuk described a population that include 26 IOLs and 1651 OLs, a total of 1677 leaders. In the present study there are 25 IOLs and 697 OLs, a total of 722 leaders. Given this population distribution, it seems unreasonable to adopt a priori the probability of .50 for the distribution of mentions of IOLs and OLs. A more appropriate estimate of the expected probability of an IOL or OL being mentioned would be based upon the distribution of IOLs and OLs in the leadership population of Nemo. In the present study the expected probabilities would be .03(IOLs) and .97(OLs). Using these probabilities, expected values

were calculated for each of the tables based on the total mentions in each category. The expected values obtained were less than 1 in all cases.

When $df=1$, that is, when $K=2$, each expected frequency should be at least 5 (Cochran, 1954).

If one starts with but two categories and has an expected frequency of less than 5 ... then the binomial test should be used rather than the chi-square test to determine the probability associated with the occurrence of the observed frequencies under H_0 (Siegel, 1956:46).

According to the criteria discussed here, it is inappropriate to use chi-square. The binomial test should be substituted. A binomial test was carried out for each of the tables. The differences between IOLs and OLs were significant beyond the .001 level for all cases.

It should be pointed out that had Perrucci and Pillisuk chosen to assume probabilities based on the number of IOLs and OLs in the population of leaders, expected values for IOLs in each of the four cases tested would have been less than one, thereby violating the assumptions necessary for the chi-square test.

Further examination of each table shows that both IOLs and OLs named "other" individuals fairly frequently. However an examination of the choices to person ratio shows that when IOLs were named in Tables IV and VII, the choices tend to focus on a smaller number of individuals than when OLs or others were named. The ratio of choices to persons is very close for IOLs and OLs in Tables V and VI. Tables IV, V, VI, and VII show that absolute choices of OLs occurred at approximately the same rate as choices of IOLs. However, when one considers the actual incidence of IOLs in the leader

population, it becomes apparent that the rate of IOL mentions is far in excess of the rate of OL mentions. In these terms, the hypothesis that IOLs will be identified more often as influential in actual community issues than OLs can be accepted. The hypothesized diminishing of differences between IOLs and OLs on hypothetical community issues cannot be accepted since statistically significant differences were found.

An effort was made in this study to select community issues that would have an effect on the entire population rather than on a particular segment of the population. For Issue 1, a dog leash law and the controversy surrounding its passage (Table IV), all absolute choices of IOLs by both IOLs and OLs were centered on a single individual, with a small number of OL and other persons mentioned.

Issue 2 centered on a four year old water bond issue, which accounts for the large number of "other" responses. Those identified here as "others", held leadership positions in community organizations at that time but are no longer in office. A large number of respondents named organizations as being influential on this issue, and, in fact, when mentioning individuals, most often they were mentioned in association with an organization.

Issue 3, the hypothetical issue, bore some resemblance to Issue 2 in that it involved a bond issue. However, interviews indicated that the major point of concern about the city hall with some tax considerations, generated the nominations rather than the issue as it would affect the whole community in terms of tax dollars alone.

In response to the questions on persons influential on actual community issues or potentially influential on a hypothetical community issue, it should be noted that many respondents named organizations as well as individuals. Some named an organization and when pressed to name individuals were unable to do so. Others named individuals in terms of their association with a particular organization. Tables VIII, IX, and X detail the choices of persons and organizations by IOLs and OLs.

On each issue IOLs and OLs gave a greater absolute number of choices to persons. However, since they were asked to name those persons they felt were most influential, it is interesting to note that they mentioned organizations at all. Table XI shows the combined choices of IOLs and OLs on all three issues. Organizations received a greater number of absolute choices in comparison with any single category of persons, and the ratio of choices to different individuals is greatest for organizations. In other words there was greater agreement on organizations that are influential than on persons. Table XII shows the combined choices of IOLs and OLs for persons and organizations. Overall, organizations receive fewer absolute choices but the agreement on which organizations are most influential is greater than that for persons.

At a later point in the interview respondents were asked to name the five organizations they felt were most influential in the community. Table XIII details the responses of IOLs and OLs in the cases of the five organizations receiving the greatest number of mentions. Organizations A, K, and M, which placed first,

TABLE VIII IOL and OL Choices of Persons and Organizations as Influential in Resolving the Issue of Passage of a Dog Leash Law.

	IOL				OL			
	Total Choices	Total Persons	Total Orgs.	Ratio	Total Choices	Total Persons	Total Orgs.	Ratio
Persons	5	3		1.7	8	4		2.0
Organizations	3		2	1.5	2		1	2.0

TABLE IX IOL and OL Choices of Persons and Organizations as Influential in Selling the Water Bond Issue to the Voters.

	IOL				OL			
	Total Choices	Total Persons	Total Orgs.	Ratio	Total Choices	Total Persons	Total Orgs.	Ratio
Persons	12	7		1.7	24	18		1.3
Organizations	10		7	1.4	12		4	3.0

TABLE X IOL and OL Choices of Persons and Organizations as Potentially Influential on the Hypothetical City Hall Issue.

	IOL				OL			
	Total Choices	Total Persons	Total Orgs.	Ratio	Total Choices	Total Persons	Total Orgs.	Ratio
Persons	21	17		1.2	17	13		1.3
Organizations	18		5	3.6	9		5	1.8

TABLE XI IOL and OL Choices of IOLs, OLs, Other Persons, and Organizations on the Two Actual Issues and the Hypothetical Issue.

Leader Type or Organization	IOL				OL			
	Total Choices	Total Persons	Total Orgs.	Ratio	Total Choices	Total Persons	Total Orgs.	Ratio
IOL	9	4		2.3	16	5		3.2
OL	14	12		1.1	18	14		1.3
Other Persons	15	6		2.5	15	12		1.3
Organizations	31		9	3.4	23		6	3.8

TABLE XII IOL and OL Combined Choices of Persons and Organizations on the Three Issues.

	IOL				OL			
	Total Choices	Total Persons	Total Orgs.	Ratio	Total Choices	Total Persons	Total Orgs.	Ratio
Persons	38	22		1.7	49	31		1.6
Organizations	31		9	3.4	23		6	3.8

TABLE XIII IOL and OL Choices of the Five Organizations Having the Greatest Community Influence. (N in parentheses)

Organization Description	IOL Choices		OL Choices	
A Business Interest Org.	16%	(8)	12%	(6)
K Elected Board	12%	(6)	14%	(7)
M Business Interest Org.	6%	(3)	4%	(2)
N Elected Board	4%	(2)	8%	(4)
O Citizens Org.	2%	(1)	6%	(3)
Total	40%	(20)	44%	(22)

second, and third in terms of general reputation for influence were frequently mentioned in association with issues discussed above. An examination of Table XIII indicates very little difference between IOLs and OLs in terms of their choices of influential organizations.

Ratings of organizational power were also provided by respondents. Table XIII shows those named most highly in response to a request for the five most influential organizations in the community. Table XIV details the ten organizations, from a group of 28 selected for rating because of their association with those interviewed.

It should be noted that the questions on issues and general reputation for power were asked in the order presented, thus avoiding a possible "halo effect" due to discussing reputed powerful persons prior to discussing issues.

Hypothesis 4

IOLs will show greater primary or social ties among themselves than will OLs show among themselves.

Each respondent was presented with the list of 20 IOLs and OLs in alphabetical order. They were asked to rank order the five persons most influential in shaping community decisions and then to indicate according to a six option scale the nature of their personal ties to each individual.

Table XV contains the data on the social and business ties within and between the IOLs and OLs. Ties are shown for all leaders irrespective of whether they were ranked as powerful, and for ranked leaders only. IOLs indicated overall closer social ties to all other IOLs (mean response 3.03) than to OLs (mean response 2.81)

TABLE XIV IOL and OL Ratings of the Influence of a Selected List of Organizations.

	Rating by IOLs	Rating by OLs
A Business Interest Organization	68	63
K Elected Board	64	62
H Community Service Organization	61	53
P Newspaper	60	53
G Bank	60	54
F Bank	58	56
M Business Interest Organization	57	53
N Elected Board	55	56
E Church	50	45
B Hospital Board	47	52

TABLE XV: IOL Responses on Social Acquaintance with IOLs, OLs, Ranked IOLs, and Ranked OLs. (N in parentheses)

Categories & Scores	IOL Responses			
	Acquaintance with IOLs(10) Ranked IOLs(4)		Acquaintance with OLs(10) Ranked OLs(1)	
Don't Know 0	2%	0%	2%	0%
Know Name 1	2%	0%	10%	0%
Nod & Greet 2	17%	10%	17%	20%
Stop to Chat 3	61%	57%	50%	60%
Have Dinner 4	5%	3%	8%	10%
Discuss Personal Problems 5	13%	30%	13%	10%
\bar{X} Acquaintance	2.97	3.53	2.81	3.10

and OLs indicated closer social ties to all OLs (mean response 3.07) than to IOLs (mean response 2.75). Both IOLs and OLs indicated stronger social ties with both ranked IOLs and ranked OLs. The hypothesis is not supported by the data, since both IOLs and OLs have closer ties within their own group than with the other leader group. In general, there is very little difference in the level of personal acquaintance of all leaders interviewed.

Further analysis of the data compared IOLs and OLs in terms of their Community Activity Scores. These scores were computed by scoring information provided by each respondent on the names of each voluntary organization in which they held membership and their activity in each of these organizations, defined as attending meetings, serving on committees, chairing committees, holding associational office, or chairing the organization. Four of the five organizational types defined earlier (governmental, civic, religious, social) were included in this analysis. Business affiliations were omitted because of the difficulties in defining business activities in the same terms as voluntary activities.

Hypothesis 5

IOLs will have higher community activity scores in organizations having a great effect on non-members than will OLs.

An analysis of variance of the community activity scores of interviewed IOLs and OLs indicated an overall significant difference between the means, with a probability of less than .001. A further examination of the organizational categories showed significant

differences in the community activity scores in the areas of governmental type organizations ($p < .03$) and civic organizations ($p < .002$) (Table XVI). The hypothesis of greater community activity of IOLs in organizations having a great effect on non-members is supported. In addition, IOLs have significantly higher community activity scores in civic, fraternal, and professional type organizations. Not only can a small group, who have a greater number of leadership positions be identified, but when they are examined more closely on overall activity in voluntary community organizations, they show a greater level of activity, particularly in governmental type and civic organizations.

To this point, the data has indicated that multiple interorganizational leadership positions are related to the type of organizational leadership positions held, to community power as measured by either involvement in actual past issues or by reputation for power, and to the level of overall voluntary community activity. In this section an effort will be made to determine whether those IOLs and OLs identified as having a general reputation for power either by being named a reputed leader or by being included in a ranked list of powerful persons, tend to differ from IOLs on the items already discussed.

It was found earlier that IOLs were more likely to be identified as having been influential on past community issues and as having a general reputation for power than were OLs. This information was obtained as freely generated names rather than in response to a list of names. However, the same pattern was found when respondents

TABLE XVI OL Responses on Social Acquaintance with IOLs, OLs, Ranked IOLs, and Ranked OLs. (N in parentheses)

Categories & Scores	IOL Responses			
	Acquaintance with IOLs(10) Ranked IOLs(4)		Acquaintance with OLs(10) Ranked OLs(1)	
Don't Know 0	1%	0%	2%	0%
Know Name 1	10%	0%	6%	0%
Nod & Greet 2	23%	17%	17%	13%
Stop & Chat 3	51%	44%	50%	63%
Have Dinner 4	9%	22%	9%	12%
Discuss Personal Problems 5	6%	17%	16%	12%
\bar{X} Acquaintance	2.75	3.39	3.07	3.25

TABLE XVII Comparison of the Community Activity Scores of IOLs with OLs in the Four Voluntary Organizational Types. (N in parentheses)

Organization Type	IOL(10)		OL(10)		F	p <
	\bar{X}	σ	\bar{X}	σ		
Governmental Type	18.8 (9)	14.3	10.6 (8)	6.8	5.582	0.031
Civic Professional Fraternal	49.1 (9)	22.0	18.1 (9)	13.3	13.321	0.002
Religious	11.4 (9)	10.6	7.9 (10)	3.2	0.860	0.368
Social	4.6 (8)	4.3	3.8 (7)	4.9	0.127	0.726
Total Community Activity	87.9	25.0	40.6	14.6	20.343	0.001

were given the list of twenty IOLs and OLs. When asked to rank, in order, the five most influential persons on the list in shaping community decisions, four of the five ranked persons were IOLs, all of whom were named earlier on the reputational list.

When IOLs did the ranking, 74% of their choices were other IOLs and IOLs were chosen 48% of the time by OLs. The following persons received the greatest number of choices on the ranked list:

Leader	Name	Choices	X Rank	Position
IOL	Smith	15	2.5	Bank President
IOL	Brown	13	2.0	Bank President
OL	Jones	10	2.9	Elected City Official
IOL	Evans	9	3.1	President-Business
IOL	Pratt	9	3.5	President-Industry

By referring to the list of reputational leaders (page 43), it can be seen that Brown, Smith, Pratt and Evans, all IOLs, are included on both the list of reputational leaders and the list of ranked leaders, receiving approximately the same number of choices on each list. Jones, an OL, does not appear on the list of reputational leaders. In fact, Jones received only two votes as a reputational leader, both from OLs, in contrast to his high position on the ranked list. As a point of further information, it should be noted that the person who received the sixth greatest number of mentions for the ranked list was Wolff, an IOL who appears on the reputational list with a total of seven votes. The persons on these two lists will be combined from this point on and will be referred to as reputed leaders.

The reputed leaders will be examined here and compared to IOLs in terms of the organizational categories in which they hold

leadership positions; whether they are identified as being active in actual community issues or potentially active on a hypothetical community issue; whether they have strong social acquaintance ties; and whether there are differences in their level of community activity in voluntary organizations. This further analysis of the data on reputed leaders is being carried out to examine whether their organizational and personal ties and rate of being mentioned as influential differs from the rate of mention for IOLs.

The distributions of organizational executive positions of reputed leaders and IOLs were compared. A chi-square test was conducted. No significant differences were found at the .05 level of significance. Reputed leaders and IOLs appear to hold executive positions in the same types of organizations.

Reputed leaders were then compared to IOLs in terms of the rate at which members of each group were named as being influential on each of the issues presented during the interview, and as having a general reputation for power.

Chi-square tests were conducted to determine significant differences between the rate of mentions of IOLs and reputed leaders. Significant differences at the .05 level were found between IOLs and reputed leaders for each issue and for general reputation for power with reputed leaders mentioned at a greater rate than IOLs. This seems to indicate that reputed leaders, whether IOLs or OLs, have additional characteristics beyond number of leadership positions that set them apart from the general leadership population.

When the mean social acquaintance of reputed leaders (Tables XVII, and XIX) with other reputed leaders are compared to the mean social acquaintance of IOLs with ranked leaders and OLs with ranked leaders, it can be seen that the reputed leaders have a slightly higher level of social acquaintance within their own group than IOLs and OLs in general have with ranked leaders.

Hypothesis 6

Interorganizational leaders (IOLs) and organizational leaders (OLs) who are reputed leaders will have greater community activity scores in organizations having a moderate effect on non-members than will IOLs and OLs who are not reputed leaders.

Reputed leaders were also compared to the interviewed leadership population as a whole on community activity. An analysis of variance of the mean community activity scores of the leadership population, which compared reputed leaders to the remainder of the interviewed leadership population was carried out. A significant difference (4.05) on overall community activity was found between leaders and reputed leaders. A further examination of community activity in the different organizational types showed a significant difference with a probability of less than .01 in the areas of civic activities. Earlier, it was reported that an analysis of variance of the community activity scores of IOLs and OLs indicated overall significant differences and significant differences in the areas of governmental type and civic activities. The results of the analysis of variance on community activity of all leaders and reputed leaders reported above seems to indicate that a greater amount of

TABLE XVIII IOL Responses on Social Acquaintance with IOLs and Reputed Leaders. (Number of Responses in Parentheses)

Categories & Scores	IOL Responses			
	Acquaintance with IOLs		Acquaintance with Reputed Leaders	
Don't Know 0	2%	(2)	0%	(0)
Know Name 1	2%	(2)	4%	(1)
Nod & Greet 2	17%	(15)	30%	(9)
Stop to Chat 3	61%	(55)	54%	(16)
Have Dinner 4	5%	(4)	6%	(2)
Discuss Personal Problems 5	13%	(11)	6%	(2)
\bar{X} Acquaintance	2.97		2.83	

TABLE XIX: Reputed Leader Responses on Social Acquaintance with IOLs and Reputed Leaders. (Number of Responses in Parentheses)

Categories & Scores	Reputed Leader Responses			
	Acquaintance with IOLs		Acquaintance with Reputed Leaders	
Don't Know 0	0%	(0)	0%	(0)
Know Name 1	0%	(0)	0%	(0)
Nod & Greet 2	9%	(5)	3%	(1)
Stop to Chat 3	67%	(36)	50%	(15)
Have Dinner 4	4%	(2)	3%	(1)
Discuss Personal Problems 5	19%	(10)	44%	(13)
\bar{X} Acquaintance	3.25		3.83	

civic activity is related to being named as a reputed leader. (Table XX)

This further analysis of reputed leaders in comparison to IOLs seems to indicate that all hypotheses involving differences between IOLs and OLs which were supported previously, can also be supported for reputed leaders. With the exception of the distribution of executive positions in different organizational types, individuals who hold leadership positions in "many" organizations (IOLs) and who are reputed leaders, and persons who hold leadership positions in fewer organizations (OLs) who also are reputed leaders, seem to have characteristics which are different from other leaders, both IOLs and OLs. Those OLs who are reputed leaders all hold two leadership positions. Although these reputational OLs were not classified as IOLs in this study according to the criterion employed, they may, in fact, have some organizational relationship to IOLs that sets them apart in a manner similar to the separation of IOLs from the general population of OLs. This will be analyzed by examining the inter-organizational connections of IOLs and the interorganizational connections of reputed leaders.

Hypothesis 7

Those interorganizational leaders who are part of the same resource network will be judged more powerful by other IOLs and OLs.

The criteria for defining a resource network follows from the theory of power presented by Perrucci and Pillisuk, on which this study is based.

The power to shape significant community decisions resides in a number of organizations, each containing some of the

TABLE XX. Comparison of the Community Activity Scores of Ranked
 IOLs and OLs with Non-Ranked IOLs and OLs. (N in parentheses)

Organization Type	(15) Non-Ranked		(5) Ranked		F	p <
	\bar{X}	σ	\bar{X}	σ		
Governmental Type	12.7 (12)	10.7	24.8 (5)	10.1	1.120	0.306
Civic Professional Fraternal	22.7 (13)	18.5	66.4 (5)	14.8	11.654	0.004
Religious	10.7 (15)	10.2	6.6 (4)	6.1	1.913	0.186
Social	4.5	5.0	3.4	2.7	0.325	0.576
Total Community Activity	55.6 (15)	12.0	101.2 (5)	6.7	7.137	0.017

resources required to initiate, influence, or constrain decisions; when the resources of these organizations are combined, they can be instrumental and most likely decisive in shaping decision(1970:1053).

In operational terms, a resource network is defined as being in existence when:

1. three or more IOLs share executive positions on the same organizations, and
2. these are also linked to each other by one or more other organizational ties, and
3. in such a fashion that the network is "closed" in the sense that all persons are directly linked to each other by first or second order connections(1970:1053).

The network begins with an organization that has at least three IOLs among its leadership. It emanates outward through the organizational leadership affiliation of each of the IOLs associated with the original organization. Each IOL connection to another organization constitutes a resource tie. The system is closed since no organization is related to the network by ties with only one other organization. In other words, every organization represented within the network should be tied to every other organization in the network. The ties are either first order, two organizations share an IOL, or second order, two organizations are linked through IOLs to a common third organization.

Initially, the organizations which had three or more IOLs among their leadership were identified. There were six such organizations

- A - 11 IOLs - Board, Business Interest Organization
- B - 5 IOLs - Hospital Board
- C - 4 IOLs - Voluntary Association
- D - 4 IOLs - Business Firm
- E - 4 IOLs - Church Board
- F - 3 IOLs - Bank

The direct and indirect links of the IOLs on each of these boards were plotted. It was found by diagramming the relationships that it was possible to generate a complete, closed, interorganizational resource network from any one of the six organizations. This is in contrast to the finding of Perrucci and Pilisuk that only two of the ten organizations that initially qualified for inclusion in the network were capable of generating the complete closed system. In the present study four additional organizations were brought into the network through IOL connections with the six organizations listed above. Six of the IOLs included in the network (Fig. 1) were named as reputed leaders in contrast to the findings of Perrucci and Pilisuk that eight of the eleven persons included in the network were IOLs who had a general reputation for power.

Other data have indicated that IOLs and reputed leaders, either IOLs or OLs, held leadership positions in the same organizational types. This suggests an additional analysis of reputed leaders to determine whether their organizational leadership positions could generate a closed interorganizational resource network. An initial analysis of the organizational leadership positions of the reputed leaders indicated that there were three organizations on whose boards at least three reputed leaders held positions:

- B - 4 reputed leaders - Hospital Board
- F - 3 reputed leaders - Bank
- G - 3 reputed leaders - Bank

The direct and indirect links of the reputed leaders were plotted (Fig. 2). A complete, closed interorganizational network was generated, involving all three. Only one additional organization (D) was

FIGURE 1 Resource Network of IOLs

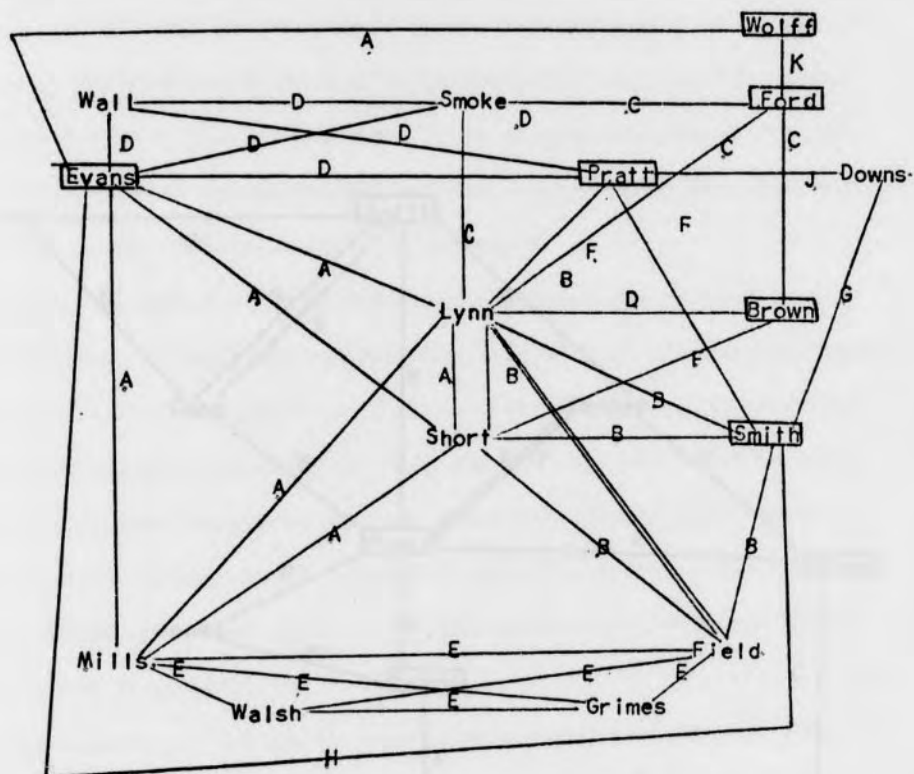
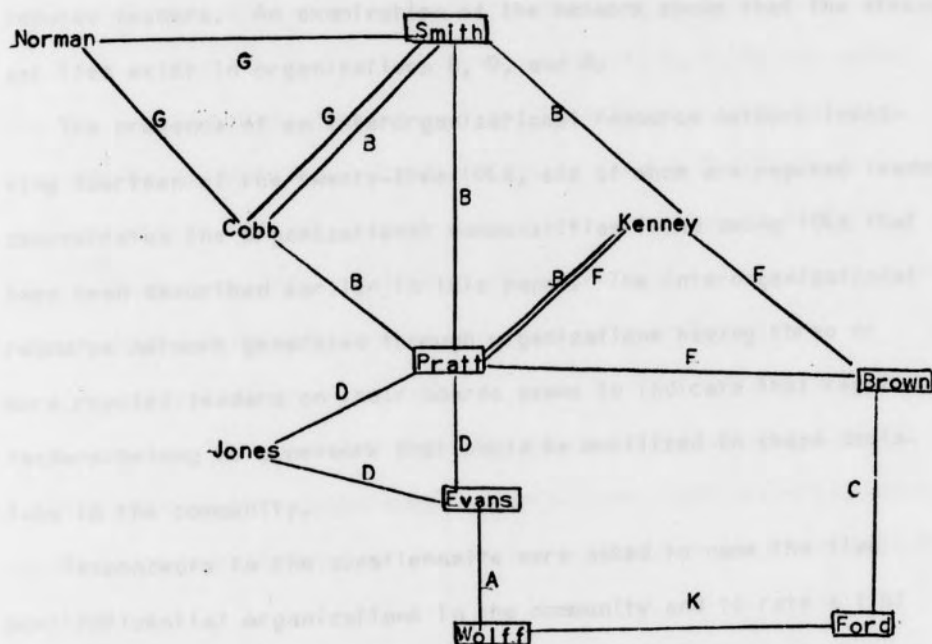


FIGURE 2 Resource Network of Reputed Leaders



brought into the network through the ties of two reputational leaders to a third person, Jones, an OL, who was named third on the list of ranked leaders but was not named on the reputational list. This resource network could be used to generate the complete IOL network in Figure 1, but the purpose here is to diagram the connections of reputed leaders. An examination of the network shows that the strongest ties exist in organizations B, D, and G.

The presence of an interorganizational resource network involving fourteen of the twenty-five IOLs, six of whom are reputed leaders demonstrates the organizational commonalities found among IOLs that have been described earlier in this paper. The interorganizational resource network generated through organizations having three or more reputed leaders on their boards seems to indicate that reputed leaders belong to a network that could be mobilized to shape decisions in the community.

Respondents to the questionnaire were asked to name the five most influential organizations in the community and to rate a list of organizations according to their overall influence in the community, as reported earlier. Two organizations received the highest ratings on each of these lists, with a gap existing between the scores they received and the scores of all other organizations, which were all grouped in the same range. The two top ranked organizations are:

- A - 14 mentions - Business Interest Organization
- K - 13 mentions - Elected Board

A further comparison of the overall naming of organizations by IOLs and OLs and IOLs and reputed leaders was carried out. A

Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient between the ranks of the top ten ranked organizations by IOLs and OLs indicated a moderately strong($r_s=.66$) relationship. A strong relationship($r_s=.89$) was observed between the top ten rankings of organizations by IOLs and reputed leaders. This indicates that a consensus exists concerning the organizations considered to be the most influential. See Table XXI.

Four of the top ten ranked organizations(A, C, E, F) are among the six organizations from which the IOL resource network was generated. Three additional organizations in the top ten(G, H, K) are included in the IOL network because of their ties to individual IOLs. These seven organizations include the four organizations that were ranked one through four by the leaders interviewed.

The reputed resource network was generated from organizations B, F, and G. The completed network includes organizations A, C, D & K in addition. Of these seven organizations, four are organizations one through four on the list of the top ten and one other is included on the list.

Four organizations appear in one, or both, networks that were not highly ranked. They are organizations B, D, I, and J. Organizations I and J are a part of the IOL network because of connections to two IOLs. However organizations B and D are two of the six organizations from which the IOL network was generated. Organization B has the greatest number of reputed leaders in the reputed leader network and is one of the organizations from which the reputed network was generated. Organization D shares two reputed IOLs among its board members.

TABLE XXI Ranked Nominations of IOLs, OLs, and Reputed Leaders of Influential Organizations.*

Organization	IOL Rankings	OL Rankings	Reputed Leader Rankings
A Business Interest Org.	1	1	1
B Elected Board	2	2	2.5
H Community Service Org.	3	7	2.5
G Bank	4.5	5	4
P Newspaper	4.5	7	6
F Bank	6	3.5	6
M Business Interest Org.	7	7	10
N Elected Board	8	3.5	6
E Church	9.5	10	8.5
C Community Service Org.	9.5	9	8.5

* IOL, OL($r = .66$)
IO., RL($r = .89$)

Organization B, the hospital board, does receive enough votes to rank eleventh on the organizational list of reputed leaders, but does not rank highly on the lists generated by IOLs and OLs. Organization D, a business, is not nominated frequently as being active in influencing community policy. However, leadership positions in both of these organizations may afford reputed leaders the opportunity to discuss various points of view. This is particularly true of the hospital board which has four IOLs who are reputed leaders among its membership.

Summary

The results reported in this chapter seem to support the hypothesis that there is a clearly identifiable group of persons who hold multiple organizational leadership positions. These IOLs are different from other organizational leaders in several ways, including the types of organizations in which they hold leadership positions, the areas in which they hold leadership positions, their overall community activity in voluntary organizations, the kinds of social ties they have with other IOLs and OLs, and their general reputation for power.

A closer examination of reputed leaders (60% IOLs) and ranked leaders (80% IOLs) seems to indicate that the hypotheses supported for IOLs in terms of the whole leadership population can also be supported for them regardless of whether the reputational or ranked leader is an IOL or OL. In fact, testing of the same hypotheses between reputed leaders and IOLs generally showed significant differences, except in the types of organizations in which they held

leadership positions for which there was no difference. An interesting difference between reputed leaders and IOLs is seen in the areas in which they were most active in voluntary associations. The IOLs differed from the general leadership population by being more active in government type and civic organizations. Ranked leaders differed from the non-ranked by being more active in civic organizations only. This finding seems to indicate that civic activity can be somewhat more important to a general reputation for power than other types of voluntary activity in the community.

When an attempt was made to generate resource networks for IOLs and for reputed leaders, it was found that a resource network that included fourteen of the twenty-five IOLs, six of whom had a general reputation for power, could be generated from any one of six different organizations. The final IOL network included eleven organizations. This would seem to indicate that IOLs could be identified in general as a group that has the opportunity to exchange information because of common organizational leadership positions and thus may have potential to exercise power in community decision-making situations.

A further effort to generate a resource network that would include reputed leaders resulted in the development of an eleven member network, from which the full IOL network could be generated. This finding indicates that reputed leaders compose a closely related group of persons who overlap with each other in seven organizations with eight of the eleven being involved in four organizations. They have opportunities, because of the large amount of overlapping observed, to exchange information and ideas about community issues

and, through their organizational affiliations, the potential to exercise power in community decisions.

The results indicate that the identified leadership is visible, at least to the general population of leaders. However, it is interesting to note that organization B, the hospital board, which is central to the resource network of reputed leaders and the resource network of IOLs, is not highly ranked as an organization in the top ten by either the IOLs, OLs or reputed leaders (who rank it eleventh). It has the largest number of reputed leaders among its members and the second largest number of IOLs among its members. The organization itself is not reputedly powerful, but a portion of its membership is.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The organizational bases of power were analyzed in this study of Nemo, a community of 14,000. The research was based on a concept of community power developed by Perrucci and Pilisuk. They theorize that no individual can possess all of the attributes necessary for achieving his goals in the community solely through personal characteristics or position. Additional power bases are important. These are found in organizations. Persons who are associated with more than one organization are in a position to act as a connector between the organizations. They are therefore in a position to benefit from the power base of each organization and therefore will exercise greater power in community decision-making.

The study reported here re-examined the hypotheses tested by Perrucci and Pilisuk and closely followed their methodology. In addition, the general community activity of the leadership population in voluntary organizations was measured in order to test the hypothesis that reputed leaders and interorganizational leaders would be more active in governmental and/or civic organizations than would other leaders. It was assumed, based on Smith's (1960:85) findings that reputed leaders and IOLs would show a greater commitment

to the community through their activities than would other leaders.

The results of the interviews conducted and other data collected generally support the theory that organizations serve as a power resource in the community.

A small number of interorganizational leaders(IOLs), three percent of the leader population were identified. These persons were found to be mentioned as influential on actual community issues at a significantly greater rate than organizational leaders(OLs). IOLs were also mentioned as potentially influential on a hypothetical community issue at a significantly greater rate than OLs. In terms of a general reputation for power, IOLs were again named at a significantly greater rate than OLs. Six of the top ten reputed leaders are IOLs. All four of the OLs included as members of the top ten reputed leader group hold two organizational executive positions in Nemo. These findings are similar to those of Perrucci and Pilisuk with the exception that IOLs in this study were mentioned more often on the hypothetical issue as well as the actual past issues.

Differences between IOLs and OLs in their social acquaintance with one another are small. IOLs indicate slightly closer social acquaintance with other IOLs than OLs, while OLs are slightly closer to other OLs. Both IOLs and OLs indicate closer social acquaintance with ranked IOLs and OLs than with other IOLs or OLs. These findings differ from those of Perrucci and Pilisuk in that the ties of IOLs to ranked leaders were found to be similar to those of OLs with ranked leaders. This may indicate that IOLs do not form as closed a group in Nemo, as they were found to constitute in the Perrucci and Pilisuk study.

When asked to rank the five most influential person in Nemo, in order of their importance, four of the top five were IOLs, who were also named as reputed leaders. An additional OL was mentioned who did not appear on the reputed list. As the OLs on the reputed list, this ranked OL also holds two organizational executive positions. IOLs were chosen more often as ranked leaders by other IOLs (74% of choices) than by OLs(48% of choices). These findings also differ from those of Perrucci and Pilisuk. They found that IOLs were mentioned more often by both IOLs and OLs.

These findings lend support to the theory that persons who have multiple organizational ties will be found to be powerful persons in the community due to the expanded power resources they have access to through organizations. However, there does not appear to be as strong support for an elite system of community power in Nemo as there was in the community studied by Perrucci and Pilisuk, since stronger social ties are not found among IOLs than among OLs and the reputed leader group is not exclusively comprised of IOLs as it was in the original study.

In order to examine more closely the organizational bases of power, the types of organizations in which executive positions were held and community activity in voluntary organizations were determined for IOLs and OLs. In terms of executive positions in different types of organizations, a significant difference was found between the overall distribution of IOLs and OLs in these positions. IOLs hold a greater number of governmental type executive positions while OLs show greater executive activity in religious organizations.

Governmental type organizations have been defined as those having a great effect on non-members. These findings indicate that another possible criterion, type of organizational executive position, is important to being named as a reputed leader in addition to multiple organizational executive positions. It should be noted that no difference was found in business executive positions. This seems to indicate that although business may be a factor in an individual's power base (nine of the ten reputed leaders are business people) it is not an area in which IOLs differ significantly from OLs. This lends further support to the hypothesis that some commitment to the community through organizational activity may be a determining factor in individual community power.

Community activity scores of IOLs and OLs in voluntary organizations were compared and analyzed. An overall significant difference between the community activity scores of each group was found, with IOLs having the larger scores. In addition, it was found that IOLs had significantly larger community activity scores than OLs in governmental and civic organizations. On the level of general activity in voluntary organizations which included all phases of activity from membership through chairing the organization, IOLs are more active in organizations having a great effect on non-members and organizations having a moderate effect on non-members.

The hypotheses of common characteristics of IOLs can be supported. They hold "many" organizational executive positions, particularly in governmental type organizations. They are more apt to be named as powerful in community decision-making situations and

In general they are more active in voluntary community organizations, particularly in governmental and civic type organizations.

The connections between organizations contained in the overlapping executive positions of IOLs were diagrammed in a resource network that included fifteen IOLs, six of whom were reputed leaders. The network developed here was larger than that found by Perrucci and Pilisuk and was not as dominated by reputed leaders. The network included the two organizations that headed the list of influential organizations in addition to six other organizations that appeared on the list of ten rated organizations. The IOL resource network developed for this study of Nemo is not dominated by IOLs who are also reputed leaders as was the IOL resource network developed by Perrucci and Pilisuk. This finding coupled with the lack of exceptionally strong social ties among IOLs seems to indicate that a pluralistic system of community power operates in Nemo.

This final step, the diagramming of an IOL resource network, completed the re-examination of the hypotheses tested by Perrucci and Pilisuk. The network shows the organizations that serve as a power base for IOLs in general and for IOL reputed leaders in particular. The generation of the resource network which included eleven organizations and fifteen IOLs demonstrates that IOLs do have access to the power based in organizations and organizational connections.

The IOLs identified in the present study do exhibit characteristics different from those of OLs in terms of community power and organizational activity, but they do not seem to be as cohesive a

group as those identified by Perrucci and Pilisuk. Since four of the reputed leaders in the present study were OLs, in comparison to the inclusion of one OL in the Perrucci and Pilisuk study, the same hypotheses tested for IOLs and OLs were retested for IOLs and reputed leaders. This was done in an effort to determine if reputed leaders differed in the same way as IOLs from OLs or differed to a greater degree.

Reputed leaders were found to have a similar distribution of executive positions in the different organizational types to that of IOLs. They were found to be mentioned at a significantly greater rate than IOLs as influentials on each actual issue examined, the hypothetical issue, and having general reputation for power. Reputed leaders were also found to have a slightly higher social acquaintance level among themselves than IOLs had with IOLs. In a comparison of reputed leaders and other interviewed leaders (non-reputed) on community activity in voluntary organizations, it was found that reputed leaders exhibited a significantly greater level of community activity overall. In addition reputed leaders had significantly greater activity scores in civic, professional, or fraternal organizations, those having a moderate effect on non-members.

In summary, reputed leaders hold executive positions similar to those of IOLs but otherwise differ from IOLs. They have greater overall reputations for power, know each other better than IOLs and exhibit greater activity in voluntary community organizations, particularly civic type organizations. These findings indicate that reputation for power is related to having more than one organizational

executive position and also to being generally active in civic, professional or fraternal organizations which have a moderate effect on non-members. In Nemo these organizations include community service, fund raising groups, the hospital, and other people oriented organizations. They appear to satisfy Smith's finding that reputed leaders, in addition to having a power base, must show commitment to the community. Reputed leaders in Nemo, when examined according to each of the hypotheses tested by Perrucci and Pillsuk, more closely approximate the findings of Perrucci and Pillsuk for IOLs. Since Perrucci and Pillsuk had many IOLs who were also reputed leaders, in contrast to the present study, it might be stated that some of the findings of Perrucci and Pillsuk concerning IOLs may be characteristics of reputed leaders that non-reputed IOLs may or may not have.

A resource network of the organizational ties of reputed leaders was constructed. All but one reputed leader (an OL) was included. The network could have been generated from any one of three organizations that had at least three reputed leaders in executive positions. The complete IOL network could be generated from the reputed network. Organization B (hospital board) is central to the network since it includes four reputed leaders. This is a civic organization that has moderate effects on non-members. It is not named as an influential organization by IOLs, OLs, or reputed leaders even though it consists of four reputed leaders and has a total of five IOLs among its members. It appears to be prestigious for a Nemo citizen to be invited to serve on the hospital board. It does not act in community situations as a unit yet it is a place

where IOLs and reputed leaders can exchange information on community issues.

Conclusions

Multiple organizational executive positions appear to be related to a general reputation for power since every person included in the reputed lists held at least two organizational executive positions. The fact that an IOL resource network could be diagrammed and the diagramming of a resource network of reputed leaders from which the IOL network could be generated indicates that IOLs and reputed leaders form a group whose members have much in common, their common organizational executive positions serving as evidence for this homogeneity. These common organizational executive positions provide IOLs and reputed leaders with common bases of community power and with opportunities for discussion of various issues confronting Nemo, and starting points from which they can act on community decisions.

Further support for the theory of power that states that organizations are central to power in the community was provided by the numerous mentions of organizations as influentials in actual and hypothetical community issues by both IOLs and OLs. Since respondents were asked to "...name the people in town that you feel would have the greatest influence in the decision finally made.", these results are particularly interesting.

The finding that IOLs have a significantly different distribution of executive positions in the different organizational types,

with a greater number of executive positions in governmental type organizations (those having a great effect on non-members) indicates that a reason for their greater rate of mentions as Influentials may be the close association they have with organizations which have by definition, a great effect on non-members. Reputed leaders had a distribution of executive positions which did not differ from that of IOLs. Therefore their greater rate of mentions as community influentials could also be related to holding executive positions in governmental type organizations.

Additional findings of overall significant differences between the community activity of IOLs and OLs and Ranked and NON-ranked leaders in terms of the type organizations in which they are active lends further support to the hypothesis that not only do organizations serve as a community power base but affiliation with certain types of community organizations is more closely related to being named as a community influential than affiliation with other organizations. IOLs were found to have significantly greater community activity scores in governmental type and civic, professional, fraternal organizations. The first relationship has already been discussed. Civic, professional, fraternal organizations are defined as having a moderate effect on non-members. They include a number of community service organizations and organizations which undertake community projects. The higher rate of activity in these types of organizations may indicate a commitment to the general well-being of the population. Ranked leaders were found to have significantly greater community activity scores than those of non-ranked leaders in civic,

professional, fraternal organizations may be the factor that separates IOLs from ranked leaders.

Finally, the diagramming of resource networks shows that both IOLs and reputed leaders have strong interorganizational bases of community power. Since there is not complete overlap of IOLs and reputed leaders in the resource networks and since strong social acquaintance is not present among these leaders, it can be stated that a pluralistic system of community power appears to be operating in Nemo.

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Study of Leadership in Reidsville, North Carolina

Interview Schedule

I. Demographic Information

Name

Address

Length of residence in R'ville

Length of residence in N.C.

Date of Birth

Place of Birth

Level of Education Completed

Occupation and Business

- II. Would you please list the organizations to which you belong and indicate the amount of active involvement you have with each of these organizations. (e.g. social, religious, business, civic, professional etc.)

NAME of org.	ACTIVE attend 50% or more annual mts.	NUMBER of Committee mbrshps.	NUMBER of Committee chairs	ASSOCIATION Officer	ASSOCIATION Chairman

III. Community Issues

1. Recently there was a great deal of discussion in town about a dog leash law and whether Reidsville should have such an ordinance.
 - a. Did you take any interest in this issue? If so, how were you involved?
 1. Disinterested.
 2. Interested observer.
 3. Spoke to people about it casually.
 4. Spoke to individuals who I felt would be involved in making a final decision.
 5. Became involved with a group organized on one side or the other of this issue.
 6. Spoke out and worked publicly for or against the issue.
 - b. Can you name the people in town that you feel were most instrumental in bringing this issue to the attention of the community at large?
 - c. Can you name the people in town that you feel had the greatest influence in the decision that was finally made?

2. In May of 1971 a referendum was held on the issuing of water bonds which were to be used to finance the new City reservoir. The issue was approved by a vote of 18 to 1.
 - a. Did you take any interest in this issue? If so, how were you involved?
 1. Disinterested.
 2. Interested Observer.
 3. Spoke to people about it casually.
 4. Spoke to individuals who I felt would be involved in making a final decision.
 5. Became involved with a group organized on one side or the other of the issue.
 6. Spoke out and worked publicly for or against the issue.
 - b. Can you name the people in town that you feel were most instrumental in bringing this issue to the attention of the community at large?
 - c. Can you name the people in town that you feel had the greatest influence in the decision that was finally made?

3. Suppose it was suggested that Reidsville build a new City Hall because the present one was considered to be obsolete for the city's needs. In order to do this a Bond Issue would have to be voted on by the people. Who do you think would be most influential in working against the bond issue? in working for it?

a. Would you take any interest in this issue? If so, how would you be involved?

1. Disinterested.

2. Interested observer.

3. Speak to people about it casually.

4. Speak to individuals who I feel would be involved in making the final decision.

5. Become involved with a group organized on one side or the other of this issue.

6. Speak out and work publicly for or against the issue.

b. Please name the people in town that you feel would be most instrumental in bringing this issue to the attention of the community at large.

c. Please name the people in town that you feel would have the greatest influence in the decision that would be finally made.

IV Community Influence

1. Could you please name ten persons who you consider to be most influential in initiating, supporting, and shaping policy decisions which have the most effect on the community as a whole.

- | | |
|----|-----|
| 1. | 6. |
| 2. | 7. |
| 3. | 8. |
| 4. | 9. |
| 5. | 10. |

2. Could you rank in order the five most influential and powerful persons on this list.

- | | |
|----|----|
| 1. | 4. |
| 2. | 5. |
| 3. | |

3. Could you please name the five organizations in town that you consider to be most influential in initiating, supporting, and shaping policy decisions which have the most effect on the community as a whole.

- | | |
|----|----|
| 1. | 4. |
| 2. | 5. |
| 3. | |

4. Could you rate each of the following organizations according to their influence in initiating, supporting, or shaping actions which have the most effect in the City. Would you please indicate your agreement or disagreement with the following statement according to the categories indicated for each organization mentioned.

HD	D	SD	NN	SA	A	HA	is
							influential in initiating, sup-
							porting or shaping actions which
							have the most effect on Reids-
							ville.

(A list of 28 organizations was read to each respondent.)

1. Brown
2. Downs
3. Evans
4. Ford
5. Pratt

Don't know him at all.

I know his name.

We usually nod and greet each other by name.

We usually stop to chat with each other for at least a few minutes whenever we meet at

(a) Parties

(b) On business

(c) At civic organization meetings

(d) At the club

(e) At church affairs

We get together now and then for dinner and visiting in each other's homes.

We often talk over personal problems with each other and help each other whenever needed.

(Each respondent was asked to indicate his Social Acquaintance with a total of nineteen selected IOLs and OLS).